1:Du Bois X-5 (1938-1939) 1946
OFS Alor OFS

154 Before going into detail about the nature of the Atimelang village complex, a few comments should be made on the physical type of its inhabitants. No generalizations are possible for the island as a whole. The Atimelangers are predominantly Oceanic Negroids although sporadically strains of Oceanic Mongoloid blood may be detected. In any event, they cannot be thought of in terms of Indonesian populations.

162 Their physical composition has been studied by Dr. Brouwer,* and it is in part on his description that the next few statements are based. The average stature of males is about five feet one inch, that of females between four feet nine and four feet ten inches. Hair varies from wavy to kinky, skin color from light brown to black, and red pigmentation in hair and skin is detectable in many individuals. Noses are short and of medium width, heads are long, and faces are often prognoid. A combination of features and stature suggests a pygmoid strain in many individuals.

161 There is no conclusive evidence that the population of Alor is increasing, although the government tax list shows an augmentation of about ten thousand in the last decade. It is quite probable that this represents only better census taking, not a true increase. But certainly the population is not decreasing; my own rather inadequate statistics from Atimelang indicate that four children per woman grew to adulthood.

165 This is more than enough to maintain the population level, despite a mortality rate of 48 per cent before adolescence. The excellent health program instituted by the government has probably reduced the death rate; certainly smallpox epidemics no longer sweep the island as they once did. At present the most common diseases are dysenteries, respiratory infections, malaria, and yaws. The last, though seldom fatal, is extremely common in Atimelang, and few children escape the devastating skin lesions of its first stage. The possible effect on personality of these debilitating diseases, often suffered in acute form during childhood, is worth bearing in mind.

162 Atimelang is often called the Five Village Alorese. In fact its larger part within the valley described above and has a relatively dense population. Within a radius of about one mile there are some six hundred people scattered among four major villages and their offspring hamlets. On the eastern side of the valley lies Atimelang and its two hamlets of Folafang and Faramang, with a total population of approximately 180 inhabitants. Closely allied to Atimelang by intermarriage is Lawetika, the fifth village of the complex, with about 120 people. Its population is scattered through three hamlets lying on the different slopes of the

*D. Brouwer, *Bijdrage tot de anthropologie der Alorschakels* (Amsterdam, n.d.).

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1964
CF5 Alor CF5

Lindow swims below the valley floor. These villagers played a smaller part than the others in my observations.

On the western side of the valley are three closely allied villages with contiguous boundaries: Dilengu (both the old and new sites) and its hamlet of Maiyamaang with a population of 114, Alorkawati with 93 people, and Kaiwa with 56. The remaining 30 of the approximate total of six hundred people on the valley floor and adjacent slopes occupy isolated field houses or are quite commonly absent on visits to other communities.

Although the villages are not rigorously stereotyped in ground plan, a general description can be given that covers the main features of all of them. Each village has from one to seven dance places, the number being roughly equivalent to the number of patrilineal lineages (*hiera*). On each dance place is located at least one of the large lineage houses (*kadang*), which is occupied by one branch only of the lineage. Around the edge of the dance place are the flat gravestones of the prominent dead of the community. From one dance place to another runs a narrow trail, along which other houses are sometimes strung.

Each village has a "head" and a "tail," where property is located: a carving of the village guardian spirit (*alowat*). The gardens and fields run to the very eaves of the houses, and during the rainy season corn and tobacco frequently screen the houses from each other. The fields then spread outward to spots an hour or more distant from the main village. Throughout these fields are temporary shelters, which are inhabited at the convenience of the owners. The tendency to decentralize habitation has undoubtedly been encouraged by the creation of head-hunting in the last twenty years.

It is not necessary here to go into detail concerning either the social implications of village planning or the structure and types of houses. Neither of these aspects of living is rigorously formalized — a statement that holds true for almost all phases of Atimelang life. However, a general picture is necessary for orientation. The lineage houses and dance places are manifestations of a primarily patrilocal residence and the basis of social clusterings. The outward expression of such social groupings around the lineage house are the other less pretentious buildings (*fala* and *rafa*), the guesthouse (*wong rafa*), and various spirit shrubs of the family group.

The larger houses of the *kadang* and *fala* types are pyramidal structures raised on four piles protected by massive wooden disks, which prevent rats from climbing up the posts into the house. Beneath each house is a low verandah generally used for lounging but sometimes also

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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This quantitative statement becomes slightly more meaningful when broken down as follows:

	Males	*Females*
Number of cases examined	111	140
Adults who have never married	14	0
Adults who have at some time contracted a marriage	98	140
Contemporary widows and widowers	3	13
Additional wives		13
Married adults who have never been divorced	49	93
Divorces among those remaining	49	47

Some of the significant facts apparent from these figures are that there are twenty-eight more women than men in the community. This indicates a higher mortality among men since out of 108 recorded births the sex ratio was 1 to 1. However, despite the surplus of women, because of plural marriages, there are no women who have never married, whereas, because of the financial difficulties of men in contracting marriages, there are fourteen men who have not. Parenthetically it should be noted that of these fourteen all but one are young and still hope to contract marriages. Women seem to be definitely at an advantage in the matter of acquiring a spouse.

In marriages, however, the expectancy of women to lose a spouse through death is higher than for men. On the other hand, the expectancy of rejecting or being rejected by a spouse is one to three for women, whereas it is one to two for men. In other words, these figures suggest that men are less secure than women in terms of the voluntary dissolution of marriage. Might this, in conjunction with other factors, mean that men feel emotionally less secure in marriage?

One more comment should be made concerning these figures. They probably understate the actual expectancy of broken marriages, since despite repeated checking there were undoubtedly instances that were forgotten by the several informants consulted. Furthermore, many of the adults listed were still young and had not yet run their full course of marital readjustments.

If the diagnosis of personality formation so far has been correct, the marital relationships here described are not surprising. Most men are searching for a mother-provider whom experience has taught them they are unlikely to find and toward whom, therefore, they feel much latent hostility. On the other hand, the women have had little in their own childhood experiences to give the stability and security men seek to find in them. Quite apart from such genetic explanations, which are only probable, there is little question that once again a descriptive linkage exists between sex, wealth, and fund.

S.Dakota B-4 (1830-1839)1940 CPS Aloe CPS

The *Francesia* was due the next morning on its around-the-world cruise, and even Aloe no longer seemed remote from the outside world. For all of its seventy thousand natives, there were only ten whites on the island that year. The other nine were Netherlands East Indies officials; as for me, I had come to live among the islanders for a year and a half in the somewhat anomalous position of an ethnographer. A bamboo-and-thatch house had been built for me up in a mountain village a day's journey from the coastal port of Kalabaki, where the Hollanders lived. Still, knowing that the *Francesia* was due in Kalabaki, I had set out at dawn, eager to see fellow countrymen and to speak English again after months of frustrating efforts in what passed for Dutch and Malay. Most of the six hundred villagers went down to the coast with me. The large ship, the crowds of strange whites and, above all, the exorbitant sums they were reputed to pay for every-day articles were tremendous drawing cards. Not that the Alorese had much use for Dutch money—they did need it to pay the government head tax and occasionally liked to spend it for some of the gaudy foreign goods on display in the Chinese shops, on their rare trips to the coast; but in their dealings amongst themselves they employed a quite different type of currency.

Those mountain friends of mine need perhaps a word of explanation. When I had arrived in Aloe some four months before, I thought that even the eighteen months I planned to stay would not be long enough to accustom me to them. Their singular ugliness, the long coarse-black hair cylinders perched on the men's woolly hair, the black skins and pentagonal faces, the dirt and odors, the thousand and one strange impressions of an unfamiliar life and people seemed stronger than their essential humanity. Already, however, those first impressions had gone and I saw only a group of vivid personalities whose social and individual problems were becoming as real and as commonplace as those of any American community of six hundred. That their village was called Atimelang instead of Middletown, that their names were the euphonious Maliwai, Kabelowai or Malelaka instead of

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